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New Spirit Prevails in Washington's Asian Policy

WASHINGTON—The approaching end of the Korean war marks the beginning of a new period of United States foreign policy in Asia. Having defeated militarily an ally of the Soviet Union in a corner of that continent, the Truman Administration is preparing to undertake the more subtle and important task of frustrating the Soviet Union politically in all Asia.

Washington apparently does not intend to achieve this new victory by some negative variation of the policy of containment used for three years to restrain the U.S.S.R. in Europe. Recent statements imply realization by the Administration that the United States cannot attract Asians by merely pointing to the political flaws in the Soviet Union's propaganda about economic and social progress.

Meanwhile, the State Department has been taking cautious steps which may lead to the renewal of negotiations with the Soviet Union on outstanding points of difference. On October 20 John Foster Dulles, who has been conducting discussions on the Japanese peace treaty, revealed that the Russian UN delegation was willing to listen to United States proposals for the pact. At the same time, the United States accepted the Iraqi-Syrian resolution in the General Assembly, passed by the Political and Security Committee on October 21 by a vote of 59 to 0, calling for talks among the five great powers on world tensions.

President Truman seems to be seizing an opportunity to demonstrate to skeptics, many of whom live in Asia, that the United States itself understands the acute need for social and economic improvement

and is capable of taking positive, affirmative action for the purpose of helping distant peoples dignify their lives, in harmony with their own best traditions, and not for the purpose of rewarding such peoples if they will further American interests. The execution of policy based on this new spirit can, of course, redound to American advantage more satisfactorily than displays of military strength and support for autocratic governments.

'Victory of Peace'

This new spirit marked the speech which President Truman delivered in San Francisco on October 17, after his return from the conversation with General Douglas MacArthur, United Nations commander in Korea, on Wake Island on October 15. "Our sole purpose in Korea is to establish peace and independence," the President said. "Our troops will stay there only so long as they are needed by the United Nations for that purpose. . . . No country in the world which really wants peace has any reason to fear the United States. The only victory we seek is the victory of peace."

He stressed the tradition of freedom and equality in the United States and drew attention to facets of American national policy little known to the poor abroad—minimum wages, social security, protection of the farmer. He underlined the point of view which Secretary of State Dean Acheson set forth in his address to the General Assembly on September 20: "A vast opportunity awaits us to bring, by such means as the United Nations has been developing, new hope to

millions whose most urgent needs are for food, land and human dignity. . . . The place to begin is Korea. . . . Out of the ashes of destruction, the United Nations can help the Korean people to create a society which will have lessons in it for other people everywhere."

To begin a demonstration project in Korea, the United States estimated for the United Nations on October 18 that \$200 million would be needed for relief and rehabilitation in the war-torn country in 1951. General MacArthur on October 20 notified the Army Department in Washington that Korea needed \$146.5 million worth of food and supplies at once.

Difficulties, however, stand in the way of executing a policy that will carry out the new spirit everywhere in Asia. One difficulty occurs in the problem of governing North Korea, about which President Syngman Rhee of the South Korean Republic and the United Nations disagree. Some of the reasons for this disagreement and its broader implications were described by Leonard Bertsch in the October 20 issue of the FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN. This conflict of views assumed sharper form as President Rhee reiterated on October 22 his intention to bring North Korea under his rule once the fighting is over. At the same time it was reported that General MacArthur would support the recommendation of the UN Interim Committee to establish a direct UN-supervised administration in the North.

Another difficulty occurs in Indo-China, where the rebel forces led by Ho Chi Minh managed this month to dislodge the French from at least six fortresses in the

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northern part of the country, including the main defense post at Langson. In Indo-China the United States is torn between its wish to help improve the lot of the Asian people and its policy of opposing the advance of Soviet influence, symbolized by the Ho regime. Two aims stated by Assistant Secretary of State Dean Rusk here conflict: "We shall support the national aspirations of the peoples of Asia to be free, to determine their own institutions, to select their own ruler and to regulate their relations with others on the basis of consent. . . . We shall act vigorously and loyally as a member of the United Nations to deal with aggression." Judged by private assertions of officials, the State Department tends to regard the Ho advance as further Communist aggression.

On October 17 the Truman Administration agreed to supply France with as much as \$2.4 billion for military purposes in 1951, including more than \$250 million for strengthening the anti-Ho forces in Indo-China. The latter sum would go to the purchase of arms for French forces and troops responsible to the native governments of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The United States sees in these

arrangements a blow to Soviet imperialism, but many Asians read them as a support for Western imperialism.

Tran Van Huu, premier of Bao Dai's Vietnam government, the non-Communist head of a non-Communist regime which supports France in the field against Ho, on October 19 advocated complete independence for Vietnam from France. "If we had independence, the people would have no more reason to fight," he told Tillman Durdin, the *New York Times* reporter. In helping France, the United States accepts French policy in Indo-China. This country cannot strengthen itself in Asia if in rebuffing the Soviet Union it employs means aggravating the discontent which the Russians exploit.

Elections and Foreign Policy

The Administration might find it possible after the November elections to resolve the inconsistencies that bewilder analysts of United States policy in Asia. While expedient and extraneous political considerations affect foreign policy today less noticeably than is commonly the case in the month before Congressional elections, Mr. Truman has excuse for some caution in the fact that Asian policy appears to be

a major issue of the campaign. When opposition candidates for Senate and House seats now held by Democrats tell the electorate that the Administration is to blame for the onrush of the Korean Communists last June, the Democratic President is not likely to view lightly the advances of Indo-Chinese Communists.

The main Asian decision delayed by domestic political uncertainties is still China. One year after the Communist armies extended their control over the whole continental portion of China, the United States continues to recognize the Nationalist government, functioning on its island retreat of Formosa, but takes no steps to heighten the prestige or advance the influence of that government. Formosa is a key in Chinese policy. The Communists regard Formosa as a part of China and belonging to them. The Nationalists also regard Formosa as a part of China and belonging to them. The United States, however, regards Formosa as a place without definite political status, a problem to be settled by the UN or in negotiations for a Japanese treaty. This avoidance of a major political problem adds to our difficulties in our new period of relations with Asia. BLAIR BOLLES

Pakistan Strives to Build Modern Economy

KARACHI—As long as the Kashmir dispute remains unresolved, the energetic efforts of the Pakistanis to build a modern economy in their three-year-old state will continue to be seriously hampered. Not only does tension over Kashmir overshadow all other preoccupations but the possibility of war has led the government to allocate 65 per cent of the budget to expenditures for defense at a time when funds are urgently needed to raise the standard of literacy (it is estimated that over 90 per cent of the population are illiterate), improve health conditions, provide a bare minimum of shelter and carry out projects for irrigation and prevention of water-logging—all essential preliminaries to any effective program of agricultural modernization and industrialization. Fear of war, too, has made foreign capital cautious about investments in Pakistan, which is otherwise considered a good risk, especially since the government has declared that it will welcome foreign investors who do not claim special privileges.

Aside from the thousand and one difficulties created by the partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947 and the enor-

mous effort required to start a new state practically from scratch, Pakistan has had to cope with the back-breaking task of caring for the 6.5 million refugees who streamed in from India. Since some 5.5 million Hindus are said to have left Pakistan territory for India, the net increase in population is thought to be between 1 and 2 million, counting recent refugees coming in from Kashmir. Most of these stricken men, women and children had to leave their possessions behind and must now start life anew, often in occupations for which they have no training.

Economic Problems

Nor is it easy for the divided nation to provide them with adequate means of livelihood. The country is predominantly agricultural, with 95.2 per cent of the people in East Pakistan and 85.5 per cent of those in West Pakistan living in villages. While Pakistan has the great advantage, in a period when hunger easily leads to political extremism, of producing sufficient food for its population—wheat and rice—it possesses few industrial resources. Most of the factories and such

raw materials as the coal and iron of undivided India were located in territories that went to the Indian state under partition. For the time being, therefore, Pakistan must depend on exports of its two principal cash crops—the jute of East Pakistan, which produces about 70 per cent of the world's supply, and the cotton of West Pakistan—as well as hides and skins, raw wool and tea, to pay for the industrial goods it must import.

Pakistani leaders say that before they can absorb the refugees and raise the very low living standard of rural areas, they must reorganize the country's economy and establish factories to manufacture the jute and cotton products which before partition were turned out by mills in India. The government has inaugurated a six-year plan of industrialization which provides that key industries will be organized under state direction. Plants for the production and processing of jute, cotton, cement and sugar are already being built. Given the adverse circumstances under which the new nation was launched, it is a miracle that its economy has functioned at all.

Karachi, which since the middle of the nineteenth century has been one of the leading seaports of the subcontinent and during World War II became an important air center, reflects Pakistan's rapidly changing economic and social scene. Along its sun-baked streets, carts—drawn by small donkeys merrily jingling their harness bells or by incredibly supercilious-looking camels—are jostled by the latest cars from the United States and Europe and by pedicabs, some gaily decorated, propelled by drivers on bicycles. Brightly clad women, walking with great dignity, carry huge bundles on their heads or prod recalcitrant bullocks, while keen-faced youngsters in red fezzes drive herds of goats.

Other women and children rub clothes on stones on the city's outskirts, laying out the wash on the ground where from a distance it looks like a gay flower-bed; or assiduously sweep up their living quarters—which range from neat mud-houses thatched with palm leaves to the hastily pitched tents or huts thrown together out of pieces of tin sheeting where refugees live jammed in with such odds and ends as they brought from India, their cooking utensils and their animals.

Changes Under Way

On the arid wastes surrounding the city, factories are under construction or are already humming with business, and the sound of hammering is heard from dawn to dusk. Women are being urged on all sides to come out of seclusion and pitch into the numerous tasks of social welfare which face the new nation—but especially to become doctors, nurses and teachers. Foreign technicians from many lands crowd Karachi, seeking contracts for the various projects the government would like to carry out if the funds were available. The simple monument erected to the late Muhammad Ali Jinnah, a native of Karachi who despite all odds persisted in creating the independent Muslim state of Pakistan, looks out upon a long vista of refugee encampments stretching to the horizon. Gazing at this sight, visitors ask, Was all this—the travail, the anxiety, the divided country with one thousand miles of Indian territory separating West Pakistan from East Pakistan, the hard road that lies ahead—too high a price to pay for independence? The present feelings of the Pakistanis is that no price could be too high; nor do they believe that Hindus and

Muslims could have managed to live at peace in an undivided India freed of British rule, where, as they see it, the Hindus would have insisted on imposing their views on the rest of the population.

Force of Islam

Adherence to Islam, which unifies the Muslims of India in their struggle to achieve independence, has now become the most important force working for integration of the new state. For Americans, accustomed to the separation of church and state, the frequent references of Pakistani leaders to the *Shariat* (Path), consisting of the precepts of the Koran and the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad, as a guide to governmental action may come as a surprise. But observers—who have watched the disintegration of society in countries of the Middle East and elsewhere in Asia where modernization brought about loss of faith in ancient beliefs without substituting a new set of generally accepted values—believe that Pakistan may benefit by reliance on Islamic precepts which, in their opinion, may offer—if applied—a viable alternative to communism.

Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, who is profoundly aware of the need of prompt reforms to stem extremist movements, told a mass meeting at Lahore in August 1949: "For us there is only one 'ism'—Islamic socialism, which in a nutshell means that every person in this land has equal rights to be provided with food, shelter, clothing, education and medical facilities. Countries which cannot insure these for

their people can never progress. The economic program drawn up some 1,350 years back is still the best for us." Included in this program is a drastic land reform recommended by the Muslim League but not yet implemented. Thus in Pakistan Islam, instead of representing a dead end, as it has seemed to Westerners familiar with other Muslim countries, is regarded as a challenge to social change. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, the great prophet and poet of the Pakistani nation, is recalled for having written: "What is the Koran? For the capitalist, a message of death. It is the patron of the propertyless slave"—a statement which might be taken for a quotation from Communist writings if it did not come from a distinguished Muslim spokesman. Whether or not the Pakistani leaders—a handful of able men with high ideals of public service—can succeed in carrying out the precepts of the *Shariat* in the face of poverty, illiteracy and the resistance of many interests who oppose all attempts at change, time alone can tell. Meanwhile, however, responsible Pakistanis, returning as always to their chief preoccupation, contend that only after the Kashmir dispute has been settled in such a way that Pakistan's economic and strategic position is made secure can the nation's energies be devoted to the tasks of construction which, they hope, will safeguard their people from internal conflicts.

VERA MICHELES DEAN

(This article is the second in a series on current Asian problems.)

*Richard Symonds, *The Making of Pakistan* (London, Faber, 1950), p. 35.

FPA Bookshelf

The New Society, The Anatomy of the Industrial Order, by Peter F. Drucker. New York, Harper, 1950. \$5.00.

The author of *The Future of Industrial Man* extends his earlier work by an intimate examination of the problems created by the emergence of the giant industrial enterprise—problems which the author feels to be common to any modern society, whether capitalist, Fascist or Communist—and suggests some measures which might be taken to establish a free and functioning industrial order.

Trade Unions in the New Society, by Harold J. Laski. New York, The Viking Press, 1949. \$3.00.

This book traces the changing significance of trade unionism since 1914, the past and present attitudes of society towards unions and the impact of the labor movement on the legal system both here and in Britain. It concludes with a plea to American labor to become more active in politics. The volume is based upon the Sidney Hillman Foundation lectures delivered in the United States by the late Professor Laski not long before his death.

Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East, 1948.

Lake Success, N. Y., United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, 1950. (Sales No. 1950, II. F. I.)

Students of Asian problems will find the third annual number of this series prepared by the Secretariat of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East indispensable for serious analysis of the region. Following a general survey of the year's developments, statistics and analyses are presented regarding production, monetary and fiscal problems, inflation and price movements, and international trade and balance of payments.

International Relations: Documents and Readings, by Norman Hill. New York, Oxford, 1950. \$4.50.

Professor Hill of the University of Nebraska has produced a comprehensive collection of documentary materials including texts of important treaties and public papers as well as classical statements and recent comments arranged with explanatory notes to illustrate all aspects of his subject. The volume includes a useful section dealing with human rights, morality and religion, and public opinion.

Pressures on Congress, A Study of the Repeal of Chinese Exclusion, by Fred W. Riggs. New York, King's Crown Press, 1950. \$3.75.

The recent veto by President Truman—because of an unacceptable rider—the Judd Bill, which would have accorded racial equality in immigration and naturalization to all races, makes the appearance of this volume particularly timely. It describes the forces in American life responsible for the enactment of discriminatory laws against Asians and gives an intimate picture of how public opinion was mobilized to effect an historic change, beginning with the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion acts in 1943. The author, a member of the Research Staff of the Foreign Policy Association, has also analyzed the "strategy" and "tactics" employed by pressure groups and has clarified the distinctive role of the "catalytic group," a basic but little understood feature of pressure politics in America.

Scandinavia, Between East and West, edited by Henning Friis. Ithaca & New York, Cornell University Press, 1950. \$4.50.

A symposium, by leading authorities, giving reliable and detailed information on economic planning, labor, social welfare, housing, cooperatives and foreign policy in Sweden, Norway and Denmark, which are here considered as both geographically and politically intermediate between the United States and the Soviet Union. Statistical tables and a bibliography increase the value of this work, whose contributors include, beside the editor, Svend Laursen, P. J. Bjerre, Walter Galenson, Charles Abrams, Edith J. Hirsch, Per G. Stensland, Bryn J. Hovde and others.

Macedonia, Its Place in Balkan Power Politics, by Elisabeth Barker. London & New York, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1950. \$1.00.

A detailed investigation of an important world danger spot which, lying athwart the boundaries of Greece, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, may at any time again come to the forefront of world attention.

Men in Crisis, The Revolutions of 1848, by Arnold Whitridge. New York, Scribner, 1949. \$5.00.

A series of historical essays, by an eminent American scholar, dealing with revolutionary crises of the mid-nineteenth century, focused on the careers of leading personalities—Louis Philippe, Lamartine, Mazzini and Garibaldi, Karl Marx, Metternich, Szechenyi and Kossuth—with attention to American repercussions.

Germany's Drive to the West, A Study of Germany's Western War Aims During the First World War, by Hans W. Gatzke. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1950. \$5.00.

A monograph which comprehensively and fruitfully explores the interrelations of social, economic and political forces within Germany and their impact on annexationist aims in the west during World War I, focusing attention on the international and domestic effects of these internal pressures.

Assignment: Near East, by James Batal. New York, Friendship Press, 1950. \$1.75.

The dramatic story of Protestant missionary, educational, medical and humanitarian work in the Middle East, told by an American journalist of Christian Arab descent.

The Army of Israel, by Moshe Pearlman. New York, Philosophical Library, 1950. \$5.00.

An account of the growth of Haganah, the underground army of Israel, and its development and activities during the war in 1948 when the new state established its independence, copiously illustrated with original action photographs.

Jerusalem, by Trude Weiss-Rosmarin. New York, Philosophical Library, 1950. \$2.75.

An essay on Jerusalem from a Zionist point of view, stressing the importance of the city in Jewish life and thought and opposing the scheme for internationalization under the UN.

The Barkeep of Blémont, by Marcel Aymé. New York, Harper, 1950. \$3.00.

A novel of postwar France, of particular interest because of its portrayal of conflicting political tendencies and of the Communist party in a small town.

Branch and Affiliate Meetings

SHREVEPORT, October 30, *The Schuman Plan*, André Philip

DETROIT, October 31, *The Present Crisis in America's Policy*, Alfred H. Kelly

BETHLEHEM, November 1, *Rationing—By Coupon or by Purse*, Wilfred T. C. King

COLUMBUS, November 1, *Problems of European Recovery*, Louis J. Halle

CLEVELAND, November 2, *European Economic Federation*, André Philip

DETROIT, November 7, *The Place of American Power in World Affairs*, Col. S. L. A. Marshall

DETROIT, November 9, *Russia and the West*, Andrei Lobanov-Rostovsky

Labor in Europe

Labor organizations, long a potent influence in European politics, today have new responsibilities and new problems as the result of the struggle for economic recovery and the battle against communism. For a complete, detailed and factual account—written by an American trade union official—of what labor is doing in Britain, France and Germany, READ:

LABOR UNIONS AND POLITICS IN BRITAIN AND FRANCE

November 1 issue

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND LABOR IN GERMANY

November 15 issue

both by Sidney Lens

Foreign Policy Reports — 25¢

Subscription \$5; to FPA members, \$4

News in the Making

SOVIET VIEWS ON GERMANY: The views of Eastern Europe on a peace treaty for Germany—contained in a communiqué issued on October 21 after a meeting in Prague of eight states in the Soviet bloc—may constitute a Russian offer for settlement of the German question. The communiqué calls for a demilitarized Germany, unified politically and economically, and the withdrawal of occupation troops one year after the signing of a treaty. While the Western powers see many snags ahead—including questions regarding the sincerity of the Communist leaders—the views of the Soviet bloc are regarded by some observers as more favorable than in past negotiations.

GERMANS EXHAUST EPU CREDITS: Within three and a half months the West German government has used all the credits allocated to it for a full year's participation in the European Payments Union. This disclosure, made by Dr. Dirk J. Stikker, president of the Council of the OEEC, has serious implications for Germany's trading partners and also endangers the prospects for European economic integration.

POINT FOUR BEGINNING IN IRAN: The first agreement under the Point Four program for aiding underdeveloped areas was signed in Teheran on October 19 by Henry F. Grady, the United States Ambassador, and Premier Ali Razmara. The initial project, to be jointly administered, calls for an allocation of \$500,000 to Iran for the purpose of improving health, agricultural and educational facilities in the rural areas.

STRIKE IN THE PHILIPPINES: As the Philippine government of President Elpidio Quirino began to take harsher measures against insurgent Communist-led Huk guerrillas, it suspended habeas corpus proceedings for arrested suspects. At the same time many Filipinos who are critical of the existing regime deplored the failure of Washington as yet to reveal the text of the Bell Commission's report, which is thought to contain, in addition to proposals for American aid, frank criticisms of the present state of affairs in the islands.

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